

CHAPTER 5

Women and Education in Türkiye in the Context of CEDAW

Yasemin ESEN¹

Hasan YILDIZ²

INTRODUCTION

The initial official studies on the discrimination and inequalities against women in the historical process started with the establishment of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) within the United Nations (UN) in 1946 and continued with the decade between 1975-1985 being the declared as Decade of Women by United Nations in line with the developments in human rights. One of the most crucial developments in this period was the acceptance of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women³ (CEDAW), which is one of the eight human rights declarations within the UN and considered as a comprehensive “International Declaration of Women’s Rights”, by the UN General Assembly in 1979. CEDAW, which brought women’s rights on the political agenda on a global scale and is accepted as a turning point in this sense, was opened for signature of the UN member states in 1980, and active efforts of the states that became parties to the convention to protect women’s rights

¹ Assoc. Prof. Dr., Ankara University, yesen@ankara.edu.tr

² Expert on Family and Social Services, Ministry of Family and Social Services, hasan.yildiz@aile.gov.tr

³ For the original version of the convention text see <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>

was placed in a legal and binding framework. Türkiye approved CEDAW in 1985. In addition, the Optional Protocol to CEDAW, which was prepared by the UN in 1999 to ensure the effective implementation of CEDAW, was accepted by Türkiye in 2002. According to November 2022 data, the number of countries that have signed CEDAW is 189⁴.

Depending on the developments in human rights, that occurred especially between 1975-1985, one of the intense topics of debate in the international arena was the inability of women to benefit from the right to education as much as men. Within this framework, this study aims to investigate/scrutinize the studies/regulations and current situation in Türkiye in this context via addressing women's and girls' right to education in the light of CEDAW, which is accepted as the 'women's constitution'. Accordingly, the first section of the study discusses the importance of CEDAW in a general sense, focuses on the approach put forward concerning women's right to education, and evaluates the national regulations in the legislative system in obligations of Türkiye as a state party to the convention. The second section discusses the 8th Periodic Country Report presented to the CEDAW Committee and the evaluations of the committee on the report. Within this scope, the current situation related to the access of women and girls in Türkiye to education is presented along with numerical indicators based on gender. In the conclusion section, we discussed the studies that can be conducted in the field of women's education in Türkiye and offered various recommendations.

THE CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN – CEDAW

Today, the level of development and civilization of a country is measured via its respect for human rights, and all of the

⁴ For detailed information see <https://indicators.ohchr.org/>

sociopolitical studies conducted in the modern world is shaped based on the concept of human rights. Human rights became an accepted and respected norm in the historical process that started with the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in 1789 and turned into a binding concept on the international platform with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Established within the UN following women having the same rights with men in the UN legislation after establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, CSW had a substantial effect on the formation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was accepted in 1948, and prevented the construction of the Declaration with a patriarchal understanding. Since that day, CSW has used the Declaration as a frame to promote equal rights and freedoms. A series of declarations and conventions put forward by the UN after the Second World War has highlighted the universality of human rights. In 1966, the UN General Assembly adopted the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which further elaborated international human rights. The common emphasis of the human rights perception of these Covenants was based on the principles that all humans are born equal and free in terms of dignity and rights, everyone has the fundamental freedoms with no discrimination and gender-based discrimination is unacceptable. Although these human rights covenants set out a comprehensive series of human rights, it was inadequate to ensure women to benefit from these rights. Therefore, the UN's CSW has tried to define and elaborate on the general guarantees in the international human rights instruments related to nondiscrimination from a gender perspective.

During the period between 1975-1985, the women's movement on the international platform brought this period to be recognized as the "Decade of Women" by the UN. One of the most important

developments of this period was the adoption of CEDAW after the First World Conference on Women. CEDAW emphasizes that the development and welfare of countries and the realization of equality and freedom ideals can be possible by the elimination of all kinds of discrimination against women. In this respect, CEDAW is known as a powerful and comprehensive “International Declaration of Women’s Rights” in terms of its content. The Convention is composed of 30 articles explaining the general obligations providing a legal framework for implementation, and concrete recommendations related to the fields where women have equal rights (e.g., political participation, education, citizenship, participation in the economic life, health), the procedures for the election of CEDAW Committee, periodic reports that must be submitted by the state parties, procedures for the monitoring process and obligations related to the interpretation and implementation of the Convention. Besides the text of the Convention, “general recommendations” that have been published over the years updated and improved the content and scope of the Convention by elaborating on the opinions of the Committee related to the obligations set forth within the Convention.

Arslan (2004) states that CEDAW regulates particularly the right not to be exposed to discrimination, which is one of the civil and political rights and aims to ensure equality between women and men in all areas of life by applying general human rights to women without discrimination. Therefore, the Convention was constructed based on the understanding of women’s human rights. Focusing on protecting women’s human rights, the Convention is built on the fact that gender discrimination, which has historical roots and prevents the implementation of universal human rights equally in all societies, negatively affects women in general (Gemalmaz, 2011). In this context, the most important feature of CEDAW is being the first international instrument defining

the discrimination against women. CEDAW is interpreted as a fundamental convention addressing the discrimination problem specifically among the instruments related to protecting women's human rights at an international level (Oder, 2010). That the definition in the first article of the convention clearly states that discrimination against women can take political, economic, social, cultural, civil forms and all the other, takes discrimination as all kinds of restrictions, exclusions and differentiations against women regardless of their marital statuses and defines discrimination clearly with its dimension of inequality of women and men show that women's human rights in the modern international law have been accepted as comprehensive, constantly evolving international individual rights defined on the basis of gender equality (Acar & Ariner, 2009: 20). In addition, the Convention introduces a "prohibition of discrimination" within the framework of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights by defining the discrimination against women through the concept of "right" (Oder, 2010).

Based on the acceptance of the widespread fact that the cause of the inequality between women and men is the discrimination against women, CEDAW highlights that all types of discrimination that women are exposed to should be eliminated for the establishment of human rights understanding and to ensure social development. Besides this, it determines the agenda for the actions and measures to be taken to end discrimination and imposes obligations on the state parties (Acar & Ariner, 2009: 17). States that approve the Convention are deemed to have accepted that all kinds of negative social, economic, political or cultural conditions and influences impeding or delaying the realization of women's human rights must be destroyed. According to the Convention, state parties have obligations such as prioritizing to ensure equality between women and men, and producing special policies and developing various

practices for this purpose. Within this framework, besides being legally obligated to implement the provisions of the Convention, they are deemed to have undertaken submitting national reports on the measures they adopted to comply with their contractual obligations.

One of the most important contributions of CEDAW is that it brings the concept of *de facto* equality to forefront in addition to legal equality to make possible the complete realization of the equality between women and men. Since the Convention emphasizes that the inequality between women and men do not solely stem from legal regulations and social causes should be considered and targeted for social transformation, it is a more progressive instrument than previous general conventions, which considers the inequality between women and men in the same scope with other inequalities (Gemalmaz, 2011). The 4/1st article of the Convention does not suffice with *de jure* equality (formal or legal equality), but emphasizes that the state parties should take “temporary and special measures” to implement *de facto* equality (substantive equality/ equality of outcome) (Holtmaat, 2013). *De facto* equality, which is conceptualized by the CEDAW Committee as real equality, involve not only the equality of opportunity, but also the equality of practice (Oder, 2010). In this framework, the approach of *de facto* equality in the 5th article of the Convention is concretized as “to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, to achieve the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women”. As seen, gender-based prejudices and stereotypes reproducing the gender inequality are highlighted as an important obstacle in achieving the equality between women and men. Therefore, from the standpoint of the states that approved CEDAW, it is unacceptable for different cultural understandings

and practices to impede the recognition and realization of women's international human rights and ensuring gender equality (Acar, 2010: 17).

The text of the Convention is considered as significant progress in terms of international law. The reason for this is that CEDAW defines discrimination not only with its legal aspects, as stated above but also with its cultural aspects. The Convention defines cultural factors such as traditions and stereotyped gender roles as factors that keep women from benefitting their human rights. In other words, the Convention prioritizes neither *de facto* or *de jure* dimensions of discrimination and takes them both as crucial factors in discrimination. With the Convention, states parties accept the obligation to eliminate all kinds of discrimination against women in their institutional or social structures (Acar & Ariner, 2009: 18).

Another essential/crucial aspect of CEDAW is that it acknowledges the realization, protection and improvement of women's human rights as a parallel phenomenon to the realization of gender equality in society. The Convention does not accept an understanding of women's right that is not based on gender equality and states that states parties must always realize women's human rights in gender equality (Acar & Ariner, 2009: 18). Besides, the elimination of discrimination both in public and private spheres is among the core principles of the Convention.

THE RIGHT OF WOMEN AND GIRLS TO EDUCATION IN CEDAW

The commitment of the international community to education for all was first embodied in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and then Convention against Discrimination in Education came into effect in 1960. Furthermore, International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, was accepted in 1976, CEDAW in 1979, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child in

1989. In addition to these, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the United Nations Millennium Declaration that are accepted in 1995, and the relevant articles of the Dakar Framework for Action: Education for All by UNESCO in 2000 result from the efforts for girls to have equal opportunities for education (Otaran et al., 2016: 17). As stated by Tan (2000:24), it should not be overlooked here that what ensured women's right to education to be included in the international documents was the declaration of the decade between 1975-1985 as the "Decade of Women" by the UN General Assembly and accordingly, the issue of women's right to education started to be predominantly included in international conventions. Various policy documents like CEDAW, which make up the concrete conditions for the achievement of women in their struggle for human rights, both offered a road map to state parties to ensure gender equality in education and made the states responsible in this sense.

CEDAW contains provisions that address women's right to education under a separate article and aim to prevent gender discrimination against women at all levels of education. These provisions underline the issue of education as one of the most important ways to eliminate discrimination against women and emphasize the obligation of state parties to ensure that women have equal educational rights with men. Article 10 of the Convention lists the measures to ensure equality of conditions to be provided in terms of quantity and quality in all educational levels, especially literacy, all types of education, educational materials, physical conditions of schools, scholarships and aids. These measures can be summarized as ensuring equality in terms of enrollment and receiving a diploma in both rural and urban areas, in all types of education (vocational, technical, professional and general education) and at all educational levels (art. 10/a), ensuring equality of quality in curricula, examinations, teaching staff, school

premises and equipment (art. 10/b); revising textbooks and school programs to eliminate any stereotyped approaches to women and encouraging coeducation (art. 10/c); equality in opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants (art. 10/d); providing opportunities for adults to access education programs, including literacy programs (art. 10/e) reducing drop-out rates of female students (art. 10/f); providing equal opportunities to participate in sports and physical education (art. 10/g); giving education about family health and family planning (art. 10/h). As complementary articles, Article 11, which regulates women's right to work, addresses women's right to receive vocational education; and Article 14, which regulates the rights of women who live in rural areas, addresses women's right to benefit from formal or non-formal education and training to improve their technical competence. As it is seen, an evaluation in the women's right to education, CEDAW, unlike other instruments, does not address women's right to education only with an understanding of equality before the law, but it also includes provisions aiming to ensure *de facto* equality and takes the effect of traditional stereotypes in society on women's education into account. The need to include gender perspective in textbooks in particular and all stages of an educational process in general to ensure gender equality was stated in a convention for the first time.

General recommendations, as decisions to clarify the provisions included in the Convention, constitute the general interpretation of CEDAW. There are 39 recommendations as of 2022, and Recommendation No. 3⁵, which was published in 1987, and Recommendation No. 36⁶, which was published in 2017, focus on women's and girls' right to education. In the recommendation

⁵ See <https://www.ohchr.org/en/resources/educators/human-rights-education-training/general-recommendation-no-3-education-and-public-information-programmes-1987>

⁶ See <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/general-comments-and-recommendations/general-recommendation-no-36-2017-right-girls-and>

considering the right to education by CEDAW Committee in 1987, as a result of the evaluation of 34 reports from the state parties, it was pointed out that stereotypic understandings reproducing gender-based discrimination exist to varying degrees in all countries, though they have different levels of development. In this context, the Committee warned all state parties to effectively adopt education and public information programs that will help eliminate prejudices and current practices preventing the full functioning of the principle of gender equality for women for the 5th Article of the Convention to be implemented.

On the other hand, in Recommendation No. 36 published in 2017 on women's and girls' right to education, it was emphasized that women's and girls' schooling indicators (school enrollment, attendance and graduation) have not yet reached the desired levels, and besides this, they have various disadvantages beyond education because they are disproportionately subjected to discrimination in terms of career choices. It was reminded that gender inequality is inseparably connected to education, and it was stated that some factors disproportionately prevent women and girls from demanding their education rights, which is one of their fundamental rights, and benefit from it. Among such factors, poverty and economic crises that prevent the access of women and girls, one of the disadvantaged and marginalized groups, to education were emphasized. Moreover, gender clichés found in curricula, textbooks and education processes, violence against women and girls inside or outside schools, and structural and ideological restrictions on their involvement in academic or professional areas dominated by men were also stated among the factors producing negativity in terms of the right to education.

Recommendation No. 36 states that education is the most functional tool in terms of the empowerment of women, equipping them with a capacity to demand and exercise broader

socioeconomic, cultural, and political rights on an equal level with men. In this context, education is discussed in a human rights framework focusing on three dimensions: The right to access education, the rights in education and the instrumentalization of education to benefit from all human rights through education. In this respect, the recommendation expands Article 10 of CEDAW to address and ultimately eliminating regional and domestic inequalities depending on multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, which prevent women and girls from education and benefit from their rights through education. Therefore, the recommendation offers a road map to state parties concerning the issues listed in the 10th article of the Convention.

CEDAW AND TÜRKIYE: THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF WOMEN'S RIGHT TO EDUCATION IN TÜRKIYE

Türkiye became a party to the Convention on 20/12/1985 by issuing the Law on the Approval of Participation in CEDAW dated 11/06/1985 and numbered 3232 and the Council of Ministers' Decision on the Approval of Participation in this Convention dated 24/07/1985 and numbered 85/9722, and the Convention became effective as of 19/01/1986 (Gemalmaz, 2011). Within the scope of the Convention, as all state parties, the progress made by Türkiye to fulfil its obligations has been audited by the CEDAW Committee comprising 23 independent experts through country reports submitted every four years.

As a party to CEDAW, which includes binding provisions in the framework of international law, Türkiye is responsible for embedding the principle of the equality of women and men in its legal system; abolishing all discriminative laws and enacting laws prohibiting discrimination against women; establishing courthouses and other public institutions to effectively protect women from discrimination; and ensuring the elimination

of all forms of discrimination against women by individuals, organizations and companies (Acar & Ariner, 2009: 18). It can be said that with the acquisitions came with the establishment of the Republic and with the subsequent attempts, there is a legal work complying with the core principles that CEDAW is based on in Türkiye in terms of the equality of women and men (Acar, 2010). An evaluation especially in terms of the improvement of women's human right in Türkiye shows that Article 10 of the Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, titled Equality before the Law, emphasizes that women and men have equal rights and has given the state the obligation to realize the equality of women and men. It can also be seen that Article 42 of the Constitution, titled Right to and Duty of Training and Education, constitutionally guarantees the right to education for all without any discrimination. In the National Education Basic Law numbered 1739, which provides a framework consistent with this article and regulates the aims and principles that are essential to the regulation of the Turkish national education, defines education as a fundamental right (Art. 7), states that educational institutions are open to everyone without any discrimination based on language, race, gender and religion (Art. 4) and that equal opportunities and facilities will be provided to all women and men (Art. 8).

Pursuant to Article 10 of the Convention, Türkiye is obliged to take all proper measures preventing discrimination against women at all levels of education to ensure that women have the same rights as men in education, based on the equality of women and men. Within this scope, in addition to the legal regulations regulating the right to education, development plans and strategic plans are important national regulations that will ensure the fulfillment of these commitments. For example, the 11th Development Plan covering the years between 2019-2023 and includes social, cultural, and economic goals of Türkiye, preventing all kinds

of discrimination against women, ensuring that women are empowered and can benefit from all rights, opportunities and facilities in all areas of life are stated as a fundamental goal (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye Presidency of Strategy and Budget, 2019: 139). The policies and the measures to be taken in line with these goals are stated as follows:

- The active participation of women in economic, social, cultural life and decision-making mechanisms at all levels will be encouraged, in the way of strengthening the equality of opportunity for men and women on rights, especially beginning from the local level.
- Activities will be conducted to lead the girls to the professions in the fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics, by taking into consideration of newly emerging occupational fields within the framework of the changing needs of the labor market.
- Full access and active participation of girls and women to all levels of education will be ensured.
- The enrolment, attendance, and graduation rates of women and girls will be increased at all levels of education.

In addition, according to the targets stated in the Development Plan, it is aimed to increase the schooling rate of women in primary and secondary education to 100% and in higher education to 60%. This target was also included in the Strategic Plan of the Turkish Ministry of National Education (MoNE) covering the period between 2019 and 2023, and it was stated that studies will be carried out to increase the participation of all students, especially girls and groups that require special policies, in secondary education and reduce absenteeism and grade repetition to increase the participation and graduation rates in secondary education (MoNE, 2019: 66).

The Strategy Paper and Action Plan on Women's Empowerment is a policy document covering the period between 2018-2023 by the Turkish Ministry of Family and Social Services (MoFSS), which emphasizes that strategy documents and national action plans are important tools for gender mainstreaming. The Strategy Paper and Action Plan, which covers the studies to be performed for the empowerment of women by all stakeholders (public institutions and organizations, local administrations, universities, non-governmental and professional organizations, and private sector organizations), includes fundamental aims, targets, strategies and activities related to five basic policy axes. Problem areas determined because of the situation assessment under the title of education can be summarized as preventing student loss in the transitions between grades; reaching the target literacy rates in adult women literacy; making the preservice and in-service gender equality education for educators systematic, comprehensive and sustainable; reviewing education programs and materials with a gender equality perspective to increase sensitivity. Within the framework of these evaluations, ensuring the full access and active participation of women and girls at all levels of education was determined as the main objective, and various targets and strategies were determined in this context. It was stated that there is a need for improvement on the following issues to ensure equality between women and men in education:

- Ensuring the traceability of opportunity equality for women and men in education and expanding the knowledge accumulation in this field,
- To increase the net enrollment rate of girls at all levels of compulsory education to 100%,
- To increase the women's literacy rate to 100%,
- To socially and economically empower women through lifelong learning programs,

- To increase the sensitivity of education and training processes and stakeholders to gender equality,
- To increase the sensitivity of education and training processes to women groups requiring special policies (MoFSS, 2018: 55).

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN TÜRKİYE IN THE FRAMEWORK OF CEDAW

Following the obligations stated in Article 18 of CEDAW, state parties submit periodic country reports to CEDAW Committee every four years to give information about the progress they made. Until today, Türkiye submitted a total of eight periodic country reports in the scope of CEDAW. The obligation to submit these reports is fulfilled by the Ministry of Family and Social Services General Directorate on the Status of Women in the name of Türkiye. In this framework, the 8th Periodic Country Report submitted to the CEDAW Committee in July 2020 covered concrete progress made in the framework of the first 16 articles of the Convention since 2014. The report also presented the progress and current situation in Article 10 of the Convention, which addresses gender equality in education. In this section, we will try to present the updated statistical indicators on access to education and other studies conducted to ensure gender equality in society, as included in the 8th Periodic Country Report.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN TÜRKİYE IN THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATION LEVEL AND ACCESS TO EDUCATION

In the 8th Periodic Country Report⁷ submitted to the CEDAW Committee by Türkiye, a substantial part of the developments in the scope of Article 10, which addresses gender equality in education, is presented in the framework of the indicators of access

⁷ For detailed information see https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3925816?ln=zh_CN

to education. By following this approach, population, education level and the schooling rates at different levels of education will facilitate it understanding how close or far we are from gender equality in terms of access to education.

According to the data from the Turkish Statistical Institute's (TurkStat) 2021 Address-Based Population Registration System, the population of Türkiye reached 84 million 680 thousand 273 people. While the male population is 42 million 428 thousand 101 (50.11%), the female population is 42 million 252 thousand 172 (49.89%) (TurkStat, 2021). As can be understood from this data, women constitute half of the society. It is extremely important to compare the numbers of women and men according to the level of education completed evaluating the statuses of women and men in education. Within this scope, according to the TurkStat National Education Statistics Database 2021 results, the information on the level of education completed in the age group 6 and above is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Population By Completed Level Of Education And Sex (6+ Ages)

Completed Level of Education	Total	Male	Female
Illiterate	1,862,532	268,639	1,593,893
Literate but no schools completed	7,530,275	3,224,669	4,305,606
Primary school	16,877,963	7,267,940	9,610,023
Primary education	5,132,420	2,899,977	2,232,443
Junior high school and equivalent	13,638,216	7,434,209	6,204,007
High school and equivalent	16,697,592	9,448,709	7,248,883
Higher education school or faculty	11,637,287	6,086,476	5,550,811
Masters	1,395,232	756,363	638,869

Doctorate	233,342	136,568	96,774
Unknown	752,073	356,159	395,914
Total	75,756,932	37,879,709	37,877,223

Source: TurkStat National Education Statistics Database 2021 Results

According to the data from the TurkStat National Education Statistics Database 2021, excluding the unknown population and taking the female population as 37,481,309 and the male population as 37,523,550:

- 4.25% of the female population is illiterate. This rate is 0.71% for the male population.
- 11.48% of the female population is literate but did not complete any school. This rate is 8.59% for the male population.
- 25.63% of the female population completed a primary school, while this rate is 19.36% for the male population.
- 5.95% of the female population completed primary education, while this rate is 7.72% for the male population.
- 16.55% of the female population and 19.81% of the male population completed a junior high school or equivalent.
- 19.33% of the female population and 25.18% of the male population completed a high school or equivalent.
- 14.80% of the female population and 16.22% of the male population completed a higher education school or faculty.
- 1.70% of the female population completed a master's degree and 0.25% a doctoral degree, while these rates are 2.01% and 0.36 for the male population.

In the framework of this data, it can be said that on average, men stay longer in education life than women, and women benefit less from education opportunities than men do .

Among the indicators of education level, literacy rates have a critical importance. Literacy is one of the fundamental human

rights and constitutes the basis of lifelong learning, and helps eliminate poverty, reduce child deaths, control population increase, and ensure gender equality, sustainable development, peace and democracy due to its “multiplier effect” (UNESCO, 2022). Today, women constitute more than two-thirds of 773 million adults worldwide who do not have basic literacy skills (UNESCO, 2021). Illiteracy continues to be one of the most important education problems for women in Türkiye as well.

Table 2. Population by Literacy Status and Sex (6+ ages)

Literacy Status	Total	Male	Female
Illiterate	1,862,532	1,593,893	268,639
Literate	73,142,327	35,887,416	37,254,911
Unknown	752,073	395,914	356,159
Total	75,756,932	37,877,223	37,879,709

Source: TurkStat National Education Statistics Database 2021 Results

As seen in Table 2, the total illiterate population aged 6 and above is 1,862,532. A total of 1, 593, 893 women cannot write or read. In other words, the proportion of women in the illiterate population is 85.57%. On the other hand, 97.5% of the total population aged 6 and above are literate. The distribution of literate people by sex shows that the proportion of literate males in the total male population aged 6 and above is 99.3%, while the proportion of literate females in the total female population is 95.7%⁸. A comparative examination of the statistics shows that the majority of illiterate people are women, and the number of illiterate women is approximately six times that of men.

It is known that one factor associated with the exclusion from education is the sex of the child, and the rate of girls excluded from education increases with their age. According to global estimates

⁸ Unknown population is not included.

today, the number of school-aged girls out of school is 5.5 million more than that of boys (UNICEF, 2020). Again, approximately 258 million children, adolescents and youth have no access to education. An evaluation of the rates of access to education from a gender equality perspective shows that in 1 of every 4 countries in the low-income group, there are less than 87 girls for every 100 boys enrolled in primary education and 60 girls for every 100 boys in secondary education (UNESCO, 2020a). To analyze the current situation in access to formal education in Türkiye, indicators at all education levels from preschool to higher education should be examined.

According to the Ministry of Education Preschool and Primary Education Institutions Guidelines, preschool institution refers to nursery school, kindergarten and practice classes educating preschool-age children. Nursery school is defined as a school opened to educate 36 to 68 months old children as of the end of September in the respective year, while kindergarten is defined as a class opened within formal education or lifelong education institutions to educate 57 to 68 months old children as of the end of September in the respective year (MoNE, 2014). The situation in preschool education in Türkiye can be understood by looking at the net enrollment rates in the preschool period given in Table 3.

Academic Year	Age Group	Total	Male	Female
2012/13	3-5 Years	26.63	26.94	26.31
	4-5 Years	37.36	37.88	36.80
	5 Years	39.72	41.03	38.33
2021/22	3-5 Years	44.05	44.14	43.96
	4-5 Years	55.87	55.94	55.80
	5 Years	81.63	81.85	81.41

Source: MoNE National Education Statistics 2022

Drawing from Table 3, an examination of the net preschool enrollment rates in the last decade reveals that according to the 2012-2013 academic year figures, the total preschool enrollment rate for the 3-5 age group was 26.63%, while this rate was 26.31% for girls and 26.94% for boys. The enrollment rate for the 4-5 age group was 37.36% in total, while it was 36.80% for girls and 37.88% for boys; and the enrollment rate for the 5 age group was 39.72% in total, while it was 38.33% for girls and 41.03% for boys. According to the 2021-2022 academic year figures, the total preschool enrollment rate for the 3-5 age group was 44.05%, while this rate was 43.96% for girls and 44.14% for boys. The enrollment rate for the 4-5 age group was 55.87% in total, while it was 55.80% for girls and 55.94% for boys; and the enrollment rate for the 5 age group was 81.63% in total, while it was 81.41% for girls and 81.85% for boys. When this data is evaluated, it can be said that the net enrollment rates have increased for all age groups and both sexes in the last 10 years, and the gap between the net enrollment rates of the two sexes decreased in years.

According to the Primary Education and Training Law numbered 222, primary education is defined as a National Education and Training Institution composed of a 4-year compulsory primary school and a 4-year compulsory junior high school. The compulsory primary education period includes children in the 6-14 age group. Children who completed 72 months on December 31 of the respective year (who completed 69 months as of the end of September of the enrollment year) are enrolled in the first grade of primary school. In addition, 66-, 67- and 68-month-olds as of the end of September of the enrollment year can be enrolled in the first grade with a written request from their parents (MEB, 2022). The situation in primary education (primary school and junior high school) in Türkiye can be understood by looking at the net enrollment rates given in Table 4.

Table 4. Net Primary Education (Primary School and Junior High School) Enrollment Rates 2012/'13-2021/'22

Academic Year	Primary School			Junior High School		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
2012/'13	98.86	98.81	98.92	93.09	93.19	92.98
2013/'14	99.57	99.53	99.61	94.52	94.57	94.47
2014/'15	96.30	96.04	96.57	94.35	94.39	94.30
2015/'16	94.87	94.54	95.22	94.39	94.36	94.43
2016/'17	91.16	91.08	91.24	95.68	95.60	95.76
2017/'18	91.54	91.42	91.68	94.47	94.26	94.69
2018/'19	91.92	91.78	92.08	93.28	92.94	93.64
2019/'20	93.62	93.74	93.49	95.90	95.68	96.14
2020/'21	93.23	93.34	93.11	88.85	88.95	88.74
2021/'22	93.16	93.20	93.12	89.84	89.95	89.73

Source: MoNE National Education Statistics 2022

Based on Table 4, an examination of the net primary school enrollment rates in the last decade reveals that according to the 2012-2013 academic year figures, the net primary school enrollment rate was 98.86% in total, while this rate was 98.92% for girls and 98.81% for boys. According to the 2021-2022 academic year figures, the net primary school enrollment rate was 93.16% in total, while this rate was 93.12% for girls and 93.20% for boys. An examination of the net junior high school enrollment rates reveals that according to the 2012-2013 academic year figures, the net junior high school enrollment rate was 93.09% in total, while this rate was 92.98% for girls and 93.19% for boys. According to the 2021-2022 academic year figures, the total junior high school enrollment rate was 89.84%, while this rate was 89.73% for girls and 89.95% for boys. When this data is evaluated, it draws attention that although the enrollment rates of the two sexes to primary and junior high schools were close to each other, there

was an approximately 5% decrease in these enrollment rates in the last 10 years. Moreover, the enrollment rates were approximately 7% below the targeted rate of 100% in primary schools and 10% below in junior high schools for both sexes.

Secondary education covers all general, vocational and technical education institutions based on primary education, providing 4-year compulsory, formal or non-formal education (MoNE, 2022). The situation in secondary education in Türkiye can be understood by looking at the net enrollment rates given in Table 5.

Table 5. Net Secondary Education Enrollment Rates 2012/13-2021/22

Academic Year	Secondary Education		
	Total	Male	Female
2012/13	70.06	70.77	69.31
2013/14	76.65	77.22	76.05
2014/15	79.37	79.46	79.26
2015/16	79.79	79.36	80.24
2016/17	82.54	82.69	82.38
2017/18	83.58	83.77	83.39
2018/19	84.20	84.51	83.88
2019/20	85.01	85.16	84.85
2020/21	87.93	88.05	87.79
2021/22	89.67	90.03	89.29

Source: MoNE National Education Statistics 2022

Based on Table 5, an examination of the net secondary education enrollment rates in the last decade reveals that according to the 2012-2013 academic year figures, the net secondary education enrollment rate was 70.06% in total, while this rate was 69.31% for girls and 70.77% for boys. According to the 2021-2022 academic year figures, the total secondary education enrollment rate was

89.67%, while this rate was 89.29% for girls and 90.03% for boys. When this data is evaluated, the results show that there was an approximately 20% increase in the secondary education enrollment rates for both sexes in the last 10 years. The difference between the net enrollment rates of the girls and boys dropped under 1%. However, the enrollment rates of both sexes were 10% below the targeted rate of 100%, which was determined as a requirement of compulsory education.

Higher education covers all education institutions providing at least 2-year education based on secondary education. Higher education institutions are universities, faculties, institutes, colleges, conservatories, vocational colleges, and application and research centers (MoNE, 2022). The situation in higher education in Türkiye can be understood by looking at the net enrollment rates given in Table 6.

Table 6. Net Higher Education Enrollment Rates 2012/13-2021/22

Academic Year	Secondary Education		
	Total	Male	Female
2012/13	“	38.40	38.61
2013/14	39.89	38.90	40.93
2014/15	39.49	37.95	41.10
2015/16	40.87	39.21	42.62
2016/17	41.71	39.62	43.90
2017/18	45.64	43.99	47.36
2018/19	44.10	41.93	46.37
2019/20	43.37	40.56	46.32
2020/21	44,41	40,53	48,46
2021/22	44,66	40,31	49,20

Source: MoNE National Education Statistics 2022

Based on Table 6, an examination of the net higher education enrollment rates in the last decade reveals that according to the 2012-2013 academic year figures, the net higher education enrollment rate was 38.50% in total, while this rate was 38.61% for women and 38.40% for men. According to the 2021-2022 academic year figures, the total higher education enrollment rate was 44.66%, while this rate was 49.20% for women and 40.31% for men. When this data is evaluated, it can be seen that there was an approximately 2% increase in the higher education enrollment rates for men and more than 10% increase for women in the last 10 years. In addition, according to the higher education enrollment data for all academic years in the last decade, women outstripped men in enrollment rates, and as of the 2021/'22 academic year, the net enrollment rate of women was approximately 9% higher than men.

“Transported Primary, Junior High and High Schools” are implemented to provide higher quality education and training to girls and boys at primary education age living in low population or dispersed settlements with no school and to students who study in schools that use multigrade teaching, and ensuring equal opportunity and facilities in education (MoFSS, 2022). Table 7 shows the figures for female students who benefit from the transported education by education level.

Table 7. Numbers & Ratios of Female Students Benefitting from Transported Education by Education Level 2021/'22

	Female		
	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Total</i>
Primary School	127,827	49,05	260,562
Junior High School	205,228	49,26	416,577
Secondary Education	212,488	48,13	441,460
Total	545,543	48,77	1,118,599

Source: MoNE National Education Statistics 2022

According to the Ministry of National Education 2021-2022 data, the proportion of female students benefitting from “Transported Education Practice” by their education level was as follows: the proportion of female students in primary school was 49.05%, in junior high school 49.26%, in secondary education 48.13, and considering all education levels together, the proportion of female students benefitting from transported education was 48.77%. Although the number of girls benefitting from the transported education in all education levels is lower than boys, it can be said that the numbers of boys and girls are quite close to each other in this respect. On the other hand, there is an ongoing boarding-pension school practice aiming to provide equal educational opportunities and facilities to the children of families with low economic levels living in villages and sub-village settlements with no school in rural areas in Türkiye. According to the Ministry of National Education 2021-2022 data, the proportion of female students benefitting from “Boarding-Pension School Practice was 49.49%. It can be said that girls and boys benefit from this practice in similar ratios.

In non-formal education, the current situation of women in terms of participation in lifelong learning can be evaluated through non-formal education statistics. Table 8 shows the status of women participating in non-formal education courses in Türkiye.

Table 8. Numbers & Ratios of Female Trainees Benefitting from Non-Formal Education 2021/’22

	Female		
	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Total</i>
Non-Formal Education (Total)	3.222.391	51,18	6.295.528
Non-Formal (Private)	1.010.311	35,15	2.873.597
Non-Formal (Official)	2.212.080	64,64	3.421.931

Source: MoNE National Education Statistics 2022

According to the Ministry of National Education 2021-2022 data, 35.15% of the trainees in private non-formal education courses, 64.64% in official non-formal education courses and 51.18% in all non-formal education courses are women. According to this data, women attend official non-formal education courses more and considering all non-formal education courses, women prefer non-formal education courses more than men.

OTHER STUDIES CONDUCTED TO ENSURE GENDER EQUALITY IN EDUCATION

Other developments presented in the context of ensuring gender equality in education in the 8th Periodic Country Report by Türkiye are listed below:

- Establishment of the “Sub-Commission on Orienting Youth, Especially Girls, to Science, Technology, Mathematics and Engineering” by the Committee on Equality of Opportunity for Women and Men of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye in 2018,
- Organization of literacy courses for illiterate women and girls in penitentiary institutions,
- Providing those who are arrested while receiving formal education with the opportunity to continue their education and enter school exams,
- Practices carried out within the scope of the policy of integration of refugee and foreign children into the Turkish education system,
- That 682 people participated in the Gender Equality and Education Courses organized by MEB in 2018 within the scope of in-service training addressing teachers,
- The revision of education programs and textbooks implemented in all grades of primary and secondary education institutions to remove all discriminatory expressions related to

human rights, gender, race, religion, language, color, political orientation, philosophical beliefs and similar subjects as of 2018-2019 academic year,

- Inclusion of the topics of women's rights and the equality of women and men in the curricula of numerous courses from preschool to higher education,
- Inclusion of an item related to observing gender equality among content review criteria within Regulation on Textbooks and Educational Tools published by the Ministry of National Education,
- Awareness raising activities organized in 2018 and 2019 in cooperation with the Information and Communication Technologies Authority and the Ministry of Family and Social Services to draw attention to gender equality in the fields of informatics and engineering, science and mathematics,
- Projects within the scope of "Joint Work Plan 2018-2019" signed between the Turkish Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services and UNICEF for protecting disadvantaged children and strengthening their development and participation rights,
- Courses organized within the scope of Literacy Campaign,
- Establishment of the Commission of Women Studies and Issues within the Council of Higher Education (CoHE) and Women and Family Studies Application and Research Center in universities in 2015.
- Inclusion of human reproduction, growth and development processes, measures that can be taken for adolescent health, and what needs to be done to preserve the healthy structure of a reproductive system in the curricula of Science and Biology courses.

The final report, which includes the evaluation of the 8th Periodic Country Report of Türkiye and various recommendations on problem areas that need to be improved was accepted by the

CEDAW in July 2022⁹. In the mentioned final report, the increase in the access rates of girls to secondary education and the inclusion of education concerning sexual and reproductive health and rights in the curriculum was noted as positive developments. On the other hand, the Committee emphasized that the 12-year compulsory education was not uninterrupted, the increased risk of girls' dropping out due to child marriages and early pregnancies; high illiteracy rates due to poverty and language barriers in the Southeastern region, discriminative stereotypes related to gender and the continued lack of sexual education in textbooks. In addition, the Committee stated that limited information was presented regarding complaints, the number of investigations and penalties for harassment, physical punishment and bullying against women and girls in school settings. In this context, the Committee recalled its Recommendation No. 36 (2017) and listed the following demands for action that Türkiye should fulfill to support girls and women in all levels of education:

- The compulsory 12-year education should be uninterrupted.
- Vulnerable and disadvantaged women and girls (in poverty, living in rural areas, handicapped, refugee, pregnant, etc.) should be focused on, their illiteracy rates should be decreased, and their access and completion rates for secondary and high education should be increased.
- The enrollment of women and girls at all levels of education and untraditional fields of study (e.g., science, technology, engineering and mathematics) should be encouraged, and temporary special measures (financial incentives and scholarships) should be developed for this purpose.
- Discriminative stereotypes regarding women's roles in society should be eliminated and teachers should be sensitized not to reinforce gender stereotypes in educational settings.

⁹ For detailed information see https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CEDAW%2FC%2FTUR%2FCO%2F8&Lang=en

- Systematic education should be provided for teachers at all levels of education regarding women's sexual and reproductive health rights to prevent early pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections.
- A national anti-bullying policy should be developed to create safe and inclusive education environments free of discrimination, harassment and gender-based violence against women and girls.

RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

During the process between the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948 and the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals, all international policy instruments emphasized human rights and gender equality as the main criteria of modernity and development. Within the scope of this study, women's right to education is emphasized and this issue was discussed within the scope of formal equality until the 1975-1985 period, which was accepted as the "Decade of Women", gained its current meaning and content with CEDAW, which was adopted in 1979. Apart from CEDAW, another international regulation that addresses women's right to education comprehensively is Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. These two instruments discuss women's right to education holistically and set concrete targets to achieve *de facto* equality beyond the understanding of legal equality in all dimensions of education (e.g., formal education, non-formal education, vocational education). Apart from these, Dakar Framework for Action, Millennium Development Goals and 2030 Sustainable Development Goals also draw attention to that more equitable enjoyment of women's right to education is an integral part of sustainable development and a growing economy. As Türkiye is a party to most of these international regulations, it has to produce education policies and regulations to address women's right to education with the dimension of *de facto* equality.

Tan (2018, p. 18) states that the main framework of the target and process of realizing the right to education with all its dimensions and for all people in Türkiye is international human rights documents. It is seen that in the legislative system of Türkiye, there is no regulation against international documents in terms of providing equal opportunities in access to education and prohibiting discrimination. Although Türkiye has taken important steps in this direction through the international conventions to which it is a signatory, the distance between the legislation and reality shows that gender inequalities cannot be overcome only through laws and prohibitions (Tan, 2018). In other words, laws and conventions are not sufficient to eliminate the disadvantages experienced by women in terms of accessing equal education opportunities, especially equal citizenship. Especially considering in terms of the Constitution and laws, it can be said that there is legal equality in Türkiye. However, although legal equality, which refers to equal consideration of individuals before the law in terms of legal rights, duties and obligations (Serim, 1994) is very crucial, it is not enough. Besides this, equality should be ensured in terms of citizens, who have equal rights in terms of legal equality, exercising their human rights. Like other fundamental rights, the right to education has not always been exercised equally by women and men. Considered in social reality and cultural codes, various obstacles in the way of exercising legal rights (mentality patterns, traditions, customs, etc.) make it difficult to achieve equality in results, in other words, the real equality. Exactly for this reason, CEDAW highlights the concept of the *de facto* equality, along with legal equality, to be able to fully achieve gender equality. In terms of the obligations in the framework of CEDAW, it is understood that the equality policy that Türkiye pursues in terms of women's right to education does not go beyond legal equality and cannot evolve into *de facto* equality. This results in women not being able to benefit from their right to education equally with men, along

with not being able to actively participate in paid work life and decision-making processes in Türkiye. World Economic Forum (WEF), which accepts the empowerment and advancement of women as a strategic dimension of the development of nations, determined four critical areas to measure the depth of the inequality between women and men. These are listed as access to education, participation and opportunities in economic life, health and survival, and finally, political empowerment/participation. In the Global Gender Gap Report 2022, which made a cross-country ranking related to the status of women in these four critical areas, a total of 146 countries were compared. Türkiye ranked 124th in the general ranking, 134th in the category of women's economic participation and opportunity, 101st in educational attainment, 99th in health and survival, and 112th in representation in political life (WEF, 2022).

Many projects and campaigns have been conducted for providing girls and women with the same educational opportunities as men by both public agencies and non-governmental organizations, especially since 2004. It is seen that national campaigns on girls' access to education brought along an increase in the net enrollment rates of women at all levels of education. For example, the Transported Primary, Junior High and High Schools" program by the Ministry of National Education and the Conditional Cash Transfer for Education program (especially due to high amount of aid provided for girls) by the Ministry of Family and Social Services are the policies that helped to increase girls' tracking rates from primary education to secondary education. Despite the positive developments observed as a result of these, national targets determined in terms of ensuring that girls and women benefit from educational opportunities on an equal basis with men have not yet been achieved. For instance, illiteracy remains a women's problem. an examination of the relationship between education level and

gender reveals that as the level of education increases, the difference between the participation of women and men in education also increases. Despite the positive developments in the enrollment rates of girls at preservice, primary and secondary education levels, enrollment rates differ between cities and regions. It is known that disadvantages such as poverty, deprivation, disability, and being a refugee affect children's access to education negatively. For examples, the indicators of access to education of children with special needs reveal how deep the gender inequality in this field is. The proportion of girls in the total number of children who benefit from formal special education services in the context of all education levels in Türkiye is 36.62% (The Education Reform Movement [ERM], 2022). Girls experience a double disadvantage due to their gender and disability. The increase in the number of girls at the level of open junior high school in recent years draws attention. The fact that the reasons for girls in the open education system to be included in this system makes it harder to interpret this increase. Gender-based concentrations in vocational and technical secondary education, which constitutes a very important part of secondary education and trains intermediate staff for the labor market, according to school types result in sexist division of labor and discrimination against women. For example, 35.2% of the students attending public and private high schools that are considered among vocational and technical secondary education institutions are female students (ERM, 2022). In vocational technical education, male students are directed to occupations directly related to production (carpentry, turnery, electrician, etc.), while female students are directed to occupations with lower income and status, which are the continuation of gender roles (motherhood, housewife, etc.). The same differentiation in higher education is observed in the form of concentration of women in fields such as language and literature, art, humanities, etc., which

provide lower opportunities in terms of employment and income and are limited in terms of career opportunities. Despite the increase in favor of women in higher education, the scarcity of women in certain fields in terms of faculties and fields is striking. For example, the rate of women is 29.4% in the field of Information and Communication Technologies and 29.3% in Engineering, Manufacturing and Construction, while 63.3% in Education and 56% in Arts and Humanities (TurStat, 2021-a). Preferences and Orientation in education restrict women's career opportunities, limit their participation in the labor force and income level, and reproduce the traditional gender role distribution.

Despite the increase in the net enrollment rates of women in all education levels especially after 2005, the lack of systematic monitoring and statistical analysis of women's attendance to schools and drop out rates prevent us from fully examining the status of women within the education system. Although it is observed that there is a relative statistical equality between sexes to benefit from scholarship and accommodation opportunities, which are critical to continue education, it is seen that there is a significant deficiency in the absence of any example that considers the gender factor in provisions regulating scholarship and accommodation policies or any special measures regarding female students. In the education system of Türkiye, educational environments and processes have the potential to reproduce gender inequalities systematically. In this sense, it is observed that due to the lack of preservice and in-service educations, teachers and administrators do not have sufficient sensitivity and knowledge in the context of gender equality. The studies on gender equality in education environments, processes and materials are limited to the project period. The fact that the studies carried out with international project resources on this issue are not supported with national resources creates a deficiency to create the desired awareness and

transformation. Therefore, it is compulsory and necessary that the advances that took place in recent years in access to education should be continued in education environments, processes and materials with sustainable studies based on gender equality to achieve *de facto* equality between genders in education.

Considering these determinations, taking international legislations and regulations into account, the things to be done in women's right to education in Türkiye can be listed as follows:

- Research should be conducted to reveal the reasons for the difference between legislation and practice, and measures should be taken in line with the identified reasons.
- Studies and campaigns to decrease the ratio of women in the illiterate population should be continued by considering various age groups.
- Special policies (scholarships, quotas, etc.) should be produced to increase the ratio of women in higher education.
- City- and region-based policies should be implemented by taking into account the difference between cities and regions in net enrollment rates.
- The reasons for the increase in the number of female students especially at the level of open secondary education level should be investigated and policies should be produced accordingly.
- In order to prevent gender-based concentration according to school types in vocational and technical secondary education, which trains intermediate staff for the labor market, concerted policies should be produced for these schools.
- Research should be conducted on the reasons for gender-based concentration in higher education faculties and fields, and measures should be taken in this direction.
- Attendance and dropout rates of women in all education levels should be systematically monitored, and measures to reinforce attendance and prevent dropouts should be taken in light of the produced data.

- Special policies should be developed to increase the ratio of women in high status and decision-making positions in the field of education.
- Sustainable and traceable training on gender equality should be provided for school administrators and other personnel in educational institutions, especially teachers.
- In order to prevent the developments in educational environments, processes and materials from being limited to project period, studies that are conducted with international project resources should be supported with national resources.

In conclusion, Türkiye has to all measures to ensure that women and girls have the same rights in education with men by the legislation and regulations discussed above. If Türkiye takes action in line with the recommendations to accomplish the arrangements it has committed, not only its education system will attain a more egalitarian structure. The steps to be taken in this direction will transform the relationships between women and men and make a substantial contribution toward achieving a more democratic, participatory society based on the superiority of human rights.

REFERENCES

- Acar, F. & Arıner, O. (2009). *Kadınların insan hakları ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği*. Ankara: Pozitif.
- Acar, F. (2010). Türkiye’de kadınların insan hakları: Uluslararası standartlar, hukuk ve sivil toplum. In G. Ayata, S. E. Dilek & B. E. Oder (Eds.), *Kadın Hakları: Uluslararası Hukuk ve Uygulama* (pp. 14-22). İnsan Hakları Hukuku Çalışmaları, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları. (Retrieved 16/02/2015, from http://insanhaklarimerkezi.bilgi.edu.tr/Books/khuku/turkiyede_kadınların_insan_hakları_uluslararası_standartlar.pdf)
- Aile ve Sosyal Hizmetler Bakanlığı [MoFSS], (2018). *Kadının güçlenmesi strateji belgesi ve eylem planı*. (Retrieved 10/12/2022, from <https://www.aile.gov.tr/kgm/ulusal-eylem-planları/kadının-guclenmesi-strateji-belgesi-ve-eylem-planı-2018-2023/>)
- Aile ve Sosyal Hizmetler Bakanlığı [MoFSS], (2022). *Türkiye’de kadın*. (Retrieved 19/12/2022, from https://www.aile.gov.tr/media/97652/turkiyedekadin_20220214.pdf)

- Arslan, G. (2004). BM kadınlara karşı her türlü ayrımcılığın ortadan kaldırılmasına dair sözleşme: öngörülen haklar ve öngörülen usuller. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 62 (1-2). (Retrieved 12/04/2018, from <http://www.journals.istanbul.edu.tr/tr/index.php/hukukmecmuu/search/titles?searchPage=5>)
- Eğitim Reformu Girişimi [ERM], (2022). *Eğitim izleme raporu*. (Retrieved 10/01/2023, from <https://www.egitimreformugirisimi.org/egitim-izleme-raporu-2022/>)
- Gemalmaz, M. S. (2011). Kadınlara karşı her biçimiyle ayrımcılığın ortadan kaldırılması sözleşmesi: çekinceler sorunu ışığında haklar analizi. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 69 (1-2). (Retrieved 20/03/2015, from <http://www.journals.istanbul.edu.tr/tr/index.php/hukukmecmuu/article/view/10537/9774>)
- Holtmaat, R. (2013). The CEDAW: A holistic approach to women's equality and freedom. In A. Hellum & H. Aasen (Eds.), *Women's Human Rights: CEDAW in International, Regional and National Law* (pp. 95-123). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Retrieved 02/02/2023, from https://www.academia.edu/32399545/CEDAW_A_Holistic_Approach_to_Women_s_Equality_and_Freedom_pdf)
- Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı [MoNE] (1961). *İlköğretim ve eğitim kanunu*. (Retrieved 19/12/2022, from <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=222&MevzuatTur=1&MevzuatTertip=4>)
- Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı [MoNE] (2014). *MEB okul öncesi eğitim ve ilköğretim kurumları yönetmeliği*. (Retrieved 19/12/2022, from <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=19942&MevzuatTur=7&MevzuatTertip=5>)
- Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı [MoNE] (2019). *2019-2023 Stratejik planı*. (Retrieved 14/12/2022, from <https://sgb.meb.gov.tr/www/mill-egitim-bakanligi-2019-2023-stratejik-planı-yayınlanmıştır/icerik/368>)
- Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı [MoNE] (2022). *Millî Eğitim istatistikleri örgün eğitim 2021/2022*. (Retrieved 19/12/2022, from https://sgb.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2022_09/15142558_meb_istatistikleri_orgun_egitim_2021_2022.pdf)
- Oder, B. E. (2010). Kadınların insan haklarının uluslararası düzeyde korunması. In G. Ayata, S. E. Dilek & B. E. Oder (Eds.), *Kadın Hakları: Uluslararası Hukuk ve Uygulama* (pp. 23-51). İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi. (Retrieved 20/03/2015, from http://insanhaklarimerkezi.bilgi.edu.tr/Books/khuku/giris_kadınların_insan_haklarının_uluslararası_düzye_korun.pdf)
- Otaran, N., Erdur Baker, Ö., Savaş, G., Tüzemen, E. & Tarman, B. (2016). *Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine duyarlı okul standartları kılavuzu*. (Retrieved 27/03/2016, from http://etcep.meb.gov.tr/application/assets/admin/uploads/userfiles/files/otceta_kilavuz.pdf)
- Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye Presidency of Strategy and Budget, (2019). *The eleventh development plan (2019-2023)*. (Retrieved 17/12/2022, from https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Eleventh_Development_Plan_2019-2023.pdf)

- Serim, B. (1994). Yasa önünde eşitlik ilkesi. *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, 27 (3). (Retrieved 20/03/2015, from <http://yayin.todaie.gov.tr/goster.php?Dosya=MDU1MDU1MDQ4>)
- Tan, M. (2000). Eğitimde kadın-erkek eşitliği ve Türkiye gerçeği. In M. Tan, Y. Ecevit & S. S. Üşür (Eds.) *Kadın-erkek eşitliğine doğru yürüyüş: Eğitim, çalışma yaşamı ve siyaset* (pp.30). İstanbul: TÜSIAD
- Tan, M. G. (2018). *Eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği haritalama ve izleme çalışması*. (Retrieved 22/03/2020, from <https://dSPACE.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/182>)
- Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu [TurStat] (2021). *Adrese dayalı nüfus kayıt sistemi sonuçları 2021*. ((Retrieved 19/12/2022, from <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Adrese-Dayali-Nufus-Kayit-Sistemi-Sonuclari-2021-45500>)
- Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu [TurkStat] (2021). *Ulusal eğitim istatistikleri veri tabanı 2021*. (Retrieved 19/12/2022, from <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Kategori/GetKategori?p=egitim-kultur-spor-ve-turizm-105&dil=1>)
- UNESCO (2020). *Global education monitoring report, 2020: Inclusion and education*. (Retrieved 19/12/2022, from <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373721>)
- UNESCO (2021). *International literacy day*. (Retrieved 19/12/2022, from <https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/ild-2021-fact-sheet.pdf>)
- UNESCO (2022). *Literacy for all*. (Retrieved 19/12/2022, from <http://en.unesco.org/themes/literacy-all>)
- UNICEF (2020). *Gender and education*. (Retrieved 09/12/2022, from <https://data.unicef.org/topic/gender/gender-disparities-in-education>)
- World Economic Forum (2022). *Global gender gap report* (Retrieved 10/01/2023, from https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2022.pdf)